

Message Text

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DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR GRIFFIN SMITH

E.O.11652: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, SOPN, GE, GW, WB
SUBJECT: GDR RATIONALE FOR WALL

REF: (A) STATE 168486 (B) USINFO 1540008 (NOTAL)

1. EMBASSY POLOFF DISCUSSED GDR RATIONALE FOR BERLIN WALL WITH GRIFFIN SMITH ON JULY 5. WE HAVE EXAMINED AVAILABLE FILES IN EMBASSY AND IN WEST BERLIN FOR RECENT OFFICIAL GDR JUSTIFICATIONS FOR CONSTRUCTION OF WALL. HONECKER STATEMENT OF MAY 18, 1977 (PARA 2) IS THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE RECENT STATEMENT WE HAVE FOUND. WE HAVE ALSO INCLUDED EXCERPTS FROM TWO EDITORIALS FROM NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (OFFICIAL PARTY PAPER), ONE ON THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BUILDING OF THE WALL (PARA 3) AND ONE FROM LAST YEAR (PARA 4).

2. FROM HONECKER SPEECH AT TRADE UNION CONGRESS ON MAY 18, 1977. BEGIN QUOTE: WE FULLY AGREE WITH THE WORKERS WHO EXPRESSED THEIR OPINION HERE THAT, SINCE AUGUST 13, 1961, THE FOREIGNERS NO LONGER HAVE THEIR HANDS IN THE POCKETS OF THE BERLINERS AND
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THAT THE POWER OF IMPERIALISM NOW ENDS AT THE WALL -- ONCE AND FOR ALL. YES, EVEN IF THESE GENTLEMEN DO NOT LIKE THE WALL, FOR US, JUST AS ELECTRIC CRANE DRIVER GERHARD MERITZ HAS SAID, IT MEANS SECURITY AND PEACE -- THE MOST PRECIOUS GIFT OF MANKIND. END QUOTE.

3. FROM EDITORIAL NEUES DEUTSCHLAND OF AUGUST 13, 1976. BEGIN QUOTE: FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE WE SECURED OUR STATE BORDERS. THE COLD WAR AGAINST THE GDR HAD THREATENED TO BECOME HOT DURING SUMMER 1961. IN THE YEARS SINCE, A CHANGE TOWARD PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE HAS BEEN INITIATED, TO WHICH THE ACTION OF AUGUST 13 WAS AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION. THE SUCCESSFUL STEP-BY-STEP REALIZATION OF THE POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE HAS CONFIRMED THE RIGHTNESS AND HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF THE MILITARY SECURITY MEASURES AT THE STATE BORDER BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE FRG AND WEST BERLIN. THE REVANCHIST, NATIONALISTIC AGGRESSION AGAINST THE GDR AND THE PROVOCATIONS AGAINST OUR STATE BORDER HAVE RECENTLY MADE CLEAR: THE SAFE PROTECTION OF OUR BORDER IS ESSENTIAL NOW AS BEFORE... ON AUGUST 13 COMBAT GROUPS OF THE WORKING CLASS APPEARED IN FRONT OF THE BRANDENBURG GATE AND MADE IT CLEAR ONCE AND FOR ALL: THE BORDER OF THE GDR IS NOT UNDER DISCUSSION. THIS IS A STATE BORDER, THE BORDER OF A SOVEREIGN SOCIALISTIC STATE, AND IT HAS TO BE RESPECTED. THIS IS THE LIMIT OF THE IMPERIALISTIC POWER. THIS DECLARATION WAS MUCH MORE PERSUASIVE SINCE THE SECURITY OF OUR BORDER WAS PLANNED, COORDINATED AND EXECUTED AS UNIFORM ACTION OF THE STATES OF THE WARSAW PACT. ON AUGUST 13 WE RENDERED GOOD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SERVICE TO EUROPEAN PEACE IN A CRITICAL SITUATION. CONCERNED PEOPLE IN ALL EUROPE BREATHED A SIGH OF RELIEF. FOR ALL THOSE WHO LOOKED ON THE GDR AS A PROVISIONAL ARRANGEMENT WHICH HAD TO BE TERMINATED, AUGUST 13 WAS THE HOUR OF TRUTH. THE SHOCK AFFECTED MANY PEOPLE AND MADE THEM THINK THOROUGHLY, IT DECREASED THE ILLUSIONS AND STRENGTHENED THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE REALITIES IN THE ACTUAL RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES. IT WAS MADE VERY CLEAR THAT THE RESPECT FOR THE INVULNERABILITY OF BORDERS IS A PIVOTAL QUESTION FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY. IN THIS WAY THE CLIMATE FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL ORDER BECAME GRADUALLY MORE FAVORABLE. BY THE MEASURES TAKEN ON AUGUST 13, PRE-CONDITIONS WERE CREATED FOR THE AGREEMENTS WITH MOSCOW AND WARSAW, FOR THE BASIC TREATY BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE FRG, FOR THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON WEST BERLIN, AND FOR THE FINAL ACT OF HELSINKI. IN THESE DOCUMENTS THE INVULNERABILITY OF THE BORDERS AND THE RESULTS OF WORLD WAR II AND THE POST WAR DEVELOPMENT IS EMBODIED IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.

THE EFFECT OF THE SECURITY OF THE STATE BORDER
ON THE INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIALISTIC SOCIETY,
ESPECIALLY OUR ECONOMY, WAS EXTRAORDINARILY POSITIVE.
EVERYBODY HAD NOW TO UNDERSTAND THAT ONE CANNOT ROB
THE GDR FURTHER BY LURING AWAY EXPERTS AND BY THE
THEFT OF REAL VALUES, THAT ONE CANNOT BLACKMAIL
IT POLITICALLY, ECONOMICALLY OR MILITARILY OR FORCE IT
TO ITS KNEES. END QUOTE.

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4. FROM EDITORIAL IN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND OF
AUGUST 13, 1977. BEGIN QUOTE: THE DATE OF AUGUST 13
WILL ALWAYS REMIND US OF THAT SUNDAY IN 1961 WHEN
THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ARMY AND THE BORDER FORCES OF
THE GDR, THE ALERT POLICE AND THE COMBAT GROUPS OF
THE WORKING CLASS TOOK OUR BORDERS TO WEST BERLIN
AND THE FRG UNDER FIRM CONTROL. THEY WERE BACKED
BY THE FORCES OF THEIR ALLIES, IN PARTICULAR THOSE
OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE SAFEGUARDING OF OUR STATE
FRONTIER WAS A JOINT STEP OF THE WARSAW PACT
STATES...

BUT THE CONSISTENT AND CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY
OF DETENTE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR AND THE OTHER
SOCIALIST STATES, THE GROWING REALISM IN THE
GOVERNING CIRCLES OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES FINALLY
RESULTED IN THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON WEST BERLIN,
THE TREATIES OF MOSCOW AND WARSAW WITH THE FRG, THE BASIC
TREATY BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE FRG, AND THE FINAL
ACT OF HELSINKI.

IN HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE IT IS OBVIOUS

THAT AUGUST 13, 1961 CREATED IMPORTANT CONDITIONS
FOR THESE SUCCESSES OF THE POLICY OF PEACE. ELEMENTARY
PRINCIPLES OF PEACE, WHICH AT THAT TIME WE HAD TO
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ENFORCE BY UNILATERAL ACTION, HAVE MEANWHILE FOUND
GENERAL RECOGNITION IN THOSE DOCUMENTS. END QUOTE.

5. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY RECENT OFFICIAL
GDR STATEMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT STATE IS MORE
IMPORTANT THAN THE INDIVIDUAL. WHILE THIS VIEW MAY
BE IMPLICIT IN SOME OFFICIAL PRONOUNCEMENTS, PARTICULARLY
THOSE CRITICIZING DEVIANT OR DISSIDENT ACTIVITY, WE
WOULD NOT EXPECT IT TO BE ARTICULATED AS A MATTER
OF PUBLIC POLICY IN SO MANY WORDS.

6. GDR OFFICIALS SPEAK WITH CONSIDERABLE CANDOR
IN PRIVATE ABOUT THE TRUE REASONS FOR CONSTRUCTING
AND MAINTAINING THE WALL (I.E. THE
ECONOMIC DAMAGE CAUSED BY THE DRAIN OF TALENTED, HIGHLY-
TRAINED MEN AND WOMEN FROM EAST TO WEST GERMANY). THE
ONLY RECENT PUBLIC EXPRESSION OF THIS VIEW OF WHICH
WE ARE AWARE WAS BY MINISTER OF CULTURE HOFFMANN
DURING HIS RECENT WASHINGTON VISIT WHEN HE STATED
THAT EAST GERMAN EMIGRATION POLICIES ARE MAINLY
AND ECONOMIC QUESTION. (SEE USINFO 1540008 OF
JUNE 5). IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, THE OFFICIAL RATIONALE
FOR THE WALL IS AS SET OUT ABOVE. BOLEN

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